273* 753 Circumstances under which the drinking of aguardiente can directly cause illness

Not only does aguardiente in some contexts serve as medium by means of which witchcraft can be communicated, but also it has a certain disease producing potential of its own when it is taken in certain amounts within a certain time period. (The ceremonial drinking plus one or more adjacent informal drinking units.) We will now review a few of the disease processes which are interpreted as beginning immediately 273* 164 adjacent to drinking performances. The most common illness that results from drinking is a state that may be glossed as a "hangover" /GOMA, XCAMEL YU*UN TRAWO/. This is a minor illness which involves the symptoms of "headache, loss of appetite, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, trembling," the response to 273* 757 461 which is selected from the following alternative set. The condition of GOMA is nearly exclusive with the ability to engage in routine agricultural performances. This means that the day after a ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segment, a man does not work. He has the choice, then, of staying around the house or leaving the house to perform some minor tasks such as gathering poles to support chayote vines, looking at his cattle, or any other task that takes him out of the household setting. This is an important distinction since if a man stays around the house he increases the probability that he will con-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centimeters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as possible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves. It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved. Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in cooperation with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He estimated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The president and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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which there is a black variety and a colored variety, and (2) climbing beans, of which there are four subclasses: "painted," white, yellow, and black. Beans must be grown only in irrigated lands of highest productiv-

TABLE 8. Schedule of Activities in Wheat Production

Activity	Winter wheat	Summer wheat	No. of days necessary for task: Winter wheat	Summer wheat	Helpers	Tools
Clear land	Dec. 7	May 12	5	2	2 paid workers	Machete, forked stick
Irrigate land; leave soaking	Dec. 7	May 15	1	1		
Plow	Dec. 15	May 23	1	2	Oxen team	Plow
Sow seed broadcast; cover, crossing over twice	Dec. 16	May 24	1	1	Oxen team	Plow
Cut wheat	May 1	Oct. 5	2	2	2 or 3 unpaid workers	Scythe
Thresh						
Carry wheat to shelter	May 3	Oct. 7				Net bags
Horses trample wheat	May 4	Oct. 8				
Shake stalks						Forked stick
Scoop grains into wooden box and sift to get rid of chaff	May 5	Oct. 9	3	3	4 or 5 unpaid workers, 5 horses	Box with wire mesh
Put grain in burlap bags; carry to houses on horseback						Burlap bags

SOURCE: Information from two informants, one who grows winter wheat and the other who grows summer wheat, both cultivating ½ hectare of irrigated land.

ity. The land in the center, except for the fertilized corral areas, has lately yielded a very poor harvest. People say that the soul of the bean departed when they introduced the crop to their ejido plots in hot country. The scheduling of bean production is shown in Table 9.

7: Nash E-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition:

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog,"

TABLE 9. Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

Activity	*Date*	*No. of days necessary for task*	*Helpers*	*Tools*
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	2 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

241 825
244 461 464 412
[115]

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a potter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pottery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

Making pottery. The women make a wide variety of household and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline. The sand which is mixed with the clay is found nearby. In preparing it for use, the clay has to be chopped with a hatchet and soaked. A temper for cooking pots is made of ground sandstone, called *baš*. This is found near the border of the neighboring town of Aguacatenango, and sometimes Indians of that town bring pieces which they exchange for a soup bowl or other small pottery item.

Variation in the color of the clay—it may be white, white mixed with yellow, true yellow, black, or blue-green—provides the basis for discerning its quality. The white clay is thought to be best since it doesn't break as much in firing. The preferred clay is very soft, and the women test deposits by feeling them with their hands.

The rhythm of work is regular. Children under three years of age climb on their mother's back or lap or sometimes stand by her side nursing. The women do not interrupt their work when this happens, although they may shift their body to accommodate the child. In the organization of work, there is no discussion of what is to be done or who will do it. Orders are given only to the young children. When the women are working, all motions which would require a break in activity are assigned to children who bring unfinished pots to be worked on and shoo away chickens or dogs. The standardization of production rhythm is evidenced in the uniformity in time required for each operation. Timing one potter's production of 10 *apastes* (soup bowls) on two different days, I found that she spent one hour and 10 minutes for each set, an average of 11 minutes per pot. Another woman made a *comal* (platter) in 26 minutes and a second one in 28 minutes. A pair of larger bowls produced by another woman took 15 minutes each.

The continuity in tradition of pottery production stems from a tightly organized behavioral schema with defined units of motion and stages of production. I follow Piaget in his definition of behavioral schema which Flavell (1963:54) has summarized as follows:

> Thus, an action sequence, if it is to constitute a schema, must have a certain cohesiveness and must maintain its identity as a quasi-stable, repeatable unit. It must possess component actions which are tightly

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.

TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes ya?bi ya?lel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hi? (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hi? (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hi? yu?un ben pikiš (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hi? (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Ya?be ča? mel sk'ut • sok hi? (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba sna?an ta suhk sk'ute (Go set it on a board)

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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
3d day	3.	Ya slihkesbe hit' (Begin to make the base)
	3.1	Ya swol (Make a ball)
	3.2	Ya sčob (Work into it)
	3.3	Ya snakan te čuhte (Set it on a board)
	3.4	Ya skubeyit (Poke it)
	3.5	Ya slihk sbis mo?el (Begin to press it to rise)
	3.6	Ya snit mo'el (Pull it up [a process of pressing clay from inside pot against palm of hand and forcing clay upward])
	3.7	Ya stuisbe sti?il (Level; cut off edge)
	3.8	Ya sč'ewanbael (Lay it out)
	3.9	Ya sk'ehilel swai (Keep it while one sleeps)
4th day	4.	Ya?be stalbilum (Stick on clay on the base)
	4.1	Ya sb?al te lum yu?un ya tzak (Make a tube to stick on)
	4.2	Ya smakbe ?a (Cover over where it is stuck on)
	4.3	Ya šlič mo"el (Let it up)
	4.4	Ya sč'ulmoel (Make it rise by rubbing against hand on outside)
	4.5	Ya stuisbe sti?il (Cut off edge [evens it])
	4.6	Ya stalhilel hil swai (Let it stick overnight [some leave it for only 2 hours])
5th day	5.	Ya šyubmo?el (Raise the sides)
	5.1	Ya ya?be b?al lum (Give it a tube of clay)
	5.2	Ya tzak šyubmo?el (Stick it on sides making it rise)
	5.3	Ya ya?be sčuht (Make the belly [round out side walls])
	5.4	Sb'isbetal yutil (Smooth inside)
	5.5	Ma snuksba ya ya?be šan č'inuk (If it doesn't meet, make another piece)
	5.6	Tzak šan yu?un sčube sti?il (Stick on more to make it close at the mouth)
	5.7	Ya ya?i ba?a te ha? yei ya ya?be slumil yu?un pahal sila spimile (Feel where it is thin and give it more clay so it is same remains double)
	5.8	Lah šyubmo?el sk'ahilel šwai (After raising side leave overnight)
6th day	6.	Ya ya?be snuk' (Make the neck)
	6.1	Ya ya?be ya?lel sti?il yu?un skunubai tenaš ?a ta ya?be slam yit (Scrape pot with knife; put water on mouth to make it soft and more clay at edge)
	6.2	Yah sb'albe slumil snuk' (Form roll of clay for neck)
	6.3	Yah tz'akbe sti?il (Stick it on the mouth)
	6.4	Yah šlihk sb'isbe te yutil (Begin to smooth it inside)
	6.5	Yah šlihk stuisbe sti?il (Even the edge)

(*cont.*)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Time	*Step*	*Activity*
	6.6	Yah lihk sb'is ta snukul (Smooth the edge)
	6.7	Yah lihk spusko?el sok nukul (Double over the edge with leather piece)
	6.8	Ya sb?albeko?el (Roll down lip of jug)
	6.9	Ya sibetal yutil (Spread it out inside)
	6.10	Ya ya?be sbelbel lumil (Put little pieces on edge where the neck is stuck on)
7th day	7.	Yah ya?be sčikin (Make the handles [ears])
	7.1	Ya sb'albe slumil (Roll the clay)
	7.2	Ya sp'is ?oleb (Measure out three pieces)
	7.3	Ya tzakbe sčikin (Stick on ears)
	7.4	Ya sku?be sčikin (Press on ears)
	7.5	Ya spusbe (Double over)
	7.6	Ya sb'isb'e sčikin sok yal sk'ab (Smooth with little finger [child of the hand])
	7.7	Ya sb'isbe sčikin sok sme?sk'ab (Smooth with thumb [mother of hand])
	7.8	Ya sčulbe lek sok sme? sk'ab (Spread it out with thumb [mother of hand])
8th day	8.	Yah smes ta k'ib' sok ?ul (Wash the pot with corn grind)
9th day	9.	Yah tz'ibawe kib' (Design pots)
10th day	10.	Čik'omahel (Fire pottery)
	10.1	Ya ya?be sčute?al ?a k'ib'e yu?un mak swok'a (Put down boards and accompany pottery in order that it does not break)
	10.2	Stos' si?wok (Chop wood)
	10.3	Ya šlihk sk'ak'al (Light fire)
	10.4	Ya holtik si? (Take off wood)
	10.5	Yah ta sik'ub ya him lok'el (Cool and take off wood)

• Same term used for grinding corn; motion similar.

The segmentation of activities shows that in a major schema such as pottery-making, similar motions are found at different levels, modified by direction in which motion occurs (up or down) or by the part of the pot being worked on. The classification of such motions simplifies teaching. Some of the motions included in Table 11 are classified with behavior in other contexts. For example. kneading the sand and clay (2.5 *sk'u*) is expressed by the same verb used for grinding corn, and a very similar motion is involved. *Tz'ib'ayel,* or painting the designs, also refers to writing.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Motion •	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko?el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e stikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e sti?il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya?b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko?ĉi (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

• Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the handles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

Learning to make pottery. A girl begins to make pottery about the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most marriages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age. By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly. Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the instrumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a supplement to other practical measures.

The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechanically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery production in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more experience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mixing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the neck and handles.

These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole societies as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for change, internal variations in the organization of production might provide the clues for implementing development programs.

The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is because male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461
183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476]
[602] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828
157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125
157 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
828 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

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551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

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175 632 466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

125 221 512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons. 125 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

221 461 462 561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

221 461 462 796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

24 46 [796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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TABLE 33. Activity Schedule for September 1 to June 29 of Man Owning 1 Hectare of Land and 2 Ejido Plots of ½ Hectare Each

Activity	*Days spent*	*Percent of total time*
Agriculture		46
Preparing land		
Clearing irrigation ditches	12	
Repairing and mending fences	11½	
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	11	
Irrigating land	8	
Plowing	11	
Planting	6	
Cultivating crops	21	
Guarding crops against animals and birds	3	
Harvesting	34	
Milling sugarcane	8	
Exchange labor	13	
Walking to hot country	4	
Hunting for and tending animals	25½	9
Collecting firewood	13	5
Religious activities		23
Performing duties as mayordomo	26	
Attending Sunday mass and cleaning church	24	
Fiestas, attending mass, participating in playing drum, flute, etc.	21	
Kinship and social obligations		6
Attending funerals	7	
Attending curing ceremonials	3	
Attending betrothal ceremonials	5	
Helping in house-building	1	
Marketing		3
Buying	9	
Selling	1	
Communal labor		2
Cleaning irrigation ditches	1	
Repairing threshing shelter	4	
Business affairs of cooperative	4	1
Assisting town officials	4	1
Outside work	12	4
TOTAL	303	100

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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241 461 ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

221 461 462 512 TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28 for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	Younger brother Days spent	Younger brother Percent of total time	Elder brother Days spent	Elder brother Percent of total time
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

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571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of [584] a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the betrothal: the me? ʔom precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is [181] undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

182 571 (602) based on non-kinship terms would maximize profit or material benefits, which the kinship frame limits considerably. Second, 182 183 461 556 the cultural norms imposed on the villager about the types of work which he is allowed to perform, about the maximum wealth which he is able to control, and about the distribution of this wealth, are, from a purely financial point of view, "anti-economical." 156 177 But an Indian living in a Ladino town, undoubtedly having the choice of improving his life from an economic point of view, 156 626 556 alienates himself from everything which is dear to him. An Indian attempting to live up to his aspirations of wealth within the community, alienates himself even more, and risks the dangers of witchcraft and social ostracism.

121 The phrase, "man does not live by bread alone," is very much of a truism here. If the primary factor in determining behavior were economical, the villager would have no need to live within the customary standards of living of his community nor would the corporate community persist. Each Indian could become a laborer of some sort, and integrate himself into the national society of Mexico.

But people make choices not only because they are financially advantageous, but because they preserve their standing within their kinship group, they provide satisfaction for their need of the psychological rewards of prestige and positive affection and for their need for "belonging" to a group of similar human beings with similar culture and aspirations.

We have to admit, then, that it is as impossible to analyze social dynamics, only taking into account economic variables, as